

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-12 NEA-09 /094 W

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

USINT BAGHDAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1551

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, XF, IS

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE ACTION TO SUSPEND OR EXPEL ISRAEL AT 30TH UNGA

SUMMARY & INTRODUCTION

SEVERAL DEVELOPMENTS ARE CONVERGING TO MAKE STRONG ACTION AGAINST

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ISRAEL AT THE 30TH GA DISTINCTLY POSSIBLE, INDEED PROBABLE UNLESS

MOVEMENT TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT IS UNDERWAY THIS FALL. FIRST IS LAST YEAR'S SUSPENSION OF SOUTH AFRICA, SEEN BY MOST ARABS AND NON-ALIGNED AS THE MODEL FOR ACCOMPLISHING INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION. SECOND IS THE HARDENING ARAB SENTIMENT THAT FURTHER ISOLATING ISRAEL IS BOTH NECESSARY AND FEASIBLE. WHILE RADICAL ARAB STATES (PRINCIPALLY SYRIA) FEEL THIS MOST STRONGLY, MODERATES LIKE EGYPT AND LEBANON WOULD PROBABLY BE AS UNWILLING TO STAND IN THE WAY AS THEY WERE ON PLO ISSUES LAST FALL. TWO ADDITIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES CONTRIBUTE TO THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANTI-ISRAEL ACTION IF STAGNATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONTINUES: ONE IS THE NON-ALIGNED BUREAU DECISION AT HAVANA TO HAVE THE NAC MEETING AT LIMA CONSIDER BROADER MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL, THE OTHER THE FACT THAT 30TH GA CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE MEMBERS WILL BE SELECTED BY OUTGOING GA PRESIDENT BOUTEFLIKA. WE ESTIMATE THAT A MOVE TO SUSPEND ISRAEL FROM PARTICIPATION IN THE 30TH GA WOULD HAVE A FAIR CHANCE OF SUCCESS WHILE ACTION TO EXPEL HER COMPLETELY FROM THE UN WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY FAIL. IF SENTIMENT FOR ANTI-ISRAEL ACTION SEEMS TO BE COALESCING BEFORE THE LIMA NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN LATE AUGUST, WE SUGGEST A CONCERTED EFFORT BE MADE AT THAT STAGE TO BLOCK IT.

1. THE LINE-UP AT HAVANA ON MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL

THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION CONSIDERED BY THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU AT ITS MARCH MEETING IN HAVANA SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN WHAT ACTION TO TAKE AT THE UN IF, IN NON-ALIGNED EYES, ISRAEL REMAINS INTRANSIGENT. THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS AT THE COORDINATING BUREAU MEETING HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED TO US BY A SENIOR YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL WHO TOOK PART IN THE CONFERENCE. SINCE THE INTERPLAY AT HAVANA MAY FORESHADOW WHAT HAPPENS AT THE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN LIMA (A MEETING WHICH WILL IN TURN LARGELY DETERMINE NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS FOR THE GA) WE REPORT THE ATTITUDES TAKEN AT HAVANA IN SOME DETAIL.

THE QUESTION OF MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL APPARENTLY CAME UP IN TWO WAYS. SYRIA, WITH ALGERIAN SUPPORT, INSISTED THE ISSUE BE ADDRESSED NOT ONLY IN THE FINAL DECLARATION, BUT ALSO IN A SEPARATE RESOLUTION TO BE TRANSMITTED TO LIMA. THE  
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SYRIAN RESOLUTION CALLED FLATLY FOR ISRAEL'S EXPULSION FROM THE UN; THUS, IT BECAME A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF LESS RADICAL PARTICIPANTS (LED BY INDIA) TO AVOID FORWARDING THE RESOLUTION TO LIMA AS A FORMALLY ENDORSED DOCUMENT. IN THE END, THE SYRIAN DRAFT WAS NOT INCLUDED AMONG THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE MEETING, BUT WAS SENT FORWARD INFORMALLY WITH THE BUREAU'S "SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE FOR ITS IDEAS."

THE SYRIAN DRAFT HAD THREE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS: A) EXCLUSION OF ISRAEL FROM THE UN, B) ANNULMENT OF THE 1949 GA RESOLUTION ADMITTING ISRAEL INTO THE UN, AND C) REVISION OF SC RESOLUTION 242. THE INDIAN AND YUGOSLAV DELEGATIONS VIEWED IT AS AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL EFFORT TO GET AROUND AN SC VETO BY "NULLIFYING" ISRAEL'S ADMISSION TO THE UN.

THE WORDING ON MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL IN THE HAVANA DECLARATION WAS ALSO THE SUBJECT OF MUCH DISCUSSION. HERE AGAIN SYRIA AND ALGERIA, BACKED BY CUBA, SENEGAL, TANZANIA AND KUWAIT, WANTED LANGUAGE CALLING FOR ISRAEL'S EXPULSION AND FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST HER. INSTEAD, THE DECLARATION CALLS FOR CONSIDERATION OF "BROADER MEASURES AGAINST ISRAEL, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UN CHARTER ... " THE DECLARATION THEN GOES ON TO SPELL OUT WHAT SUCH MEASURES MIGHT BE. A PROBLEM ARISES HERE IN THAT THE DECLARATION IS STILL IN DRAFT, AND TWO WORKING PAPER VERSIONS EXIST OF THE LIST OF POSSIBLE "BROADER MEASURES." THE ALTERNATIVES FOLLOW: A) "...INCLUDING SUCH MEASURES AS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SANCTIONS, THE DISMISSAL FROM THE UNITED NATIONS, ETC.." AND B) "...INCLUDING SUCH MEASURES AS THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS, (BEGIN BRACKETS) OTHER (END BRACKETS) MEASURES UNDER CHAPTER 7, SUSPENSION OR EXCLUSION FROM THE UNITED NATIONS, ETC.."

OUR YUGOSLAV SOURCE TELLS US HIS DELEGATION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ADDING THE WORD "SUSPENSION" TO THE SECOND VERSION -- AN ADDITION WHICH MAY PROVIDE AN INSIGHT INTO YUGOSLAV THINKING ABOUT WHAT LINE TO TAKE AT THE GA. AND IN LIGHT OF SYRIA'S REPORTED OVERTURES TO YUGOSLAVIA THAT SHE TAKE THE LEAD IN INTRODUCING AN EXPULSION RESOLUTION, THE YUGOSLAV ATTITUDE WILL BE IMPORTANT.

2. ANTI-ISRAEL OPTIONS OPEN TO THE NON-ALIGNED  
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FOUR PRINCIPAL LINES OF ACTION AGAINST ISRAEL ARE IN THEORY OPEN TO ARABS AND NON-ALIGNED AT THE NEXT ASSEMBLY. THEY ARE: A) EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM THE UN, B) SUSPENSION OF ISRAEL FROM EXERCISE OF THE RIGHTS OF UN MEMBERSHIP, C) IMPOSITION OF POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL AND D) REFUSAL BY THE GA TO ALLOW THE DELEGATION OF ISRAEL TO PARTICIPATE IN ITS WORK. THE FIRST THREE ALTERNATIVES ARE SUBJECT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION AND VIRTUALLY EVERYONE ASSUMES THAT ANY ONE OF THEM WOULD BE VETOED BY THE US, AND PROBABLY THE UK AND FRANCE. IT THEREFORE SEEMS UNLIKELY THEY WILL BE SERIOUSLY PURSUED. THE GA MIGHT, HOWEVER, RECOMMEND THAT THE SC TAKE ACTION AGAINST ISRAEL WITH THE OBJECT OF DEMONSTRATING MAJORITY UN SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF SUCH ACTION DESPITE OPPOSITION OF

THE WESTERN PERMANENT MEMBERS. THIS TACTIC WOULD BE LESS LIKELY TO SUCCEED THAN IN THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA SINCE, IN THE ABSENCE OF NEW ISRAELI PROVOCATION, A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL COULD NOT ATTRACT THE NECESSARY NINE AFFIRMATIVE VOTES IN THE PRESENT COUNCIL. BESIDE THE US, UK AND FRANCE, ITALY, SWEDEN, COSTA RICA AND JAPAN (AND POSSIBLY OTHERS) COULD BE COUNTED ON NOT TO VOTE FOR ANY SUCH RESOLUTION. THIS LEAVES THE POSSIBILITY OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE COUNCIL, WHICH WOULD MOST LIKELY TAKE THE FORM OF SUSPENDING ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE 30TH SESSION, FOLLOWING THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRECEDENT.

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**Page Count:** 4  
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**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 19 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19 MAY 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <20 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** POSSIBLE ACTION TO SUSPEND OR EXPEL ISRAEL AT 30TH UNGA SUMMARY & INTRODUCTION  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PORG, XF, IS, UN, UNGA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006